1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tusin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a [438] supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

244 **Garden Plants and Care of Gardens.** *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er bser, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubshth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 **Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants.** *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source [262] of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Bu Nsar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called *Bare* to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *arinca*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. i, p. 53; Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition; Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 206.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables. fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
651 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

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[1]The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443 651 such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants 438 who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental 648 tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free [735] market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which [276] undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

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438
445
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Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

[114]

443 is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competi-
434 tion. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) can-
[438] not be increased in value through combination and transportation,
[435] while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go
443 to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-
182 scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--
438 producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

443 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica
438 of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His
[439] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico
829 come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local *suq* because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the merchants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market. Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best price based on multiple competition, the larger the market, the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the *fellah* is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local *suq*, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers, but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity. The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The primary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are provided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

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[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[m]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[m] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93]

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt*; on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt*.

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[34] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[35] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[34] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[35] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.